

#### SOVIET POLICY IN WARTIME

doubt that this inner core constituted a closely knit organization well indoctrinated and disciplined.

The party's tactics consisted first in enlisting the support of the working class and then that of the intelligentsia. Younger Iranian intellectuals, often western-trained and frustrated in their ambitions because of the outmoded social system, constituted a chronically discontented class. Following the prescriptions of the Comintern congresses, the party did not neglect to appeal to them. In this action the party was applying the classical Communist tactic of forming a coalition with the liberal, anti-imperialist bourgeoisie in semicolonial areas. But in so doing, the Party carefully avoided purely Communist slogans that might have alienated the Western-mind, intelligentsia.

This is the explanation why the party's program included such a wealthy array of liberal and nationalist slogans. Following the prescribed line of a coalition, the Tudeh found it necessary to establish a working relationship with the socialists, and it managed to effect a split in the ranks of the socialist Hamdard party. An originally independent socialist paper of Menshevik tinge, *Giti*, was also eventually converted into a tool of the Tudeh. In July, 1913, the Tudeh sponsored the formation of the so-called Freedom Front, a coalition of newspapers dedicated to liberalism and progress. It was characteristic of the Communist tactics that at the time of its formation the Freedom Front included, aside from the Tudeh organs, a number of wholly non-Communist papers.

Such were, for example, *Setarsh*, considered an unofficial mouthpiece of the American financial expert, Dr. Millspaugh, or *Bakhtar*, belonging to one of the pro-British Isfahan deputies.

These two papers, as well as some others, later left the front and became definitely hostile to Communist infiltration. In their place others, how-

of 1918-1923, these Immigrants were mostly poor, representing such classes as laborers, small artisans, drivers, and mechanics. Their orientation was generally pro-Soviet and in Iran they found it difficult to establish themselves on a sound economic basis. The government of Reza Shah was definitely suspicious of these immigrant and in some cases applied stern measures against them. It is not quite clear why the Soviet government permitted such a large body of people to leave the U.S.S.R. at that time. Yet, since the immigrants formally enjoyed Iranian citizenship, Iran had to admit them. From among these, many Tudeh adherents were recruited.